1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

sprees children smoke whatever tobacco they can beg from their elders and drink all that they can. One not infrequently sees suckling babies given cassiri by their mothers. Alcohol and tobacco, to the Carib mind, like food and drink, are to be enjoyed by all human beings, although in largest measure by adults in their prime because these latter control the supply.

A wife is theoretically at the orders of her husband. It is supposedly the man who makes the decisions affecting the family. As in most societies, however, the respective influences of the mates upon family policy vary with personalities and circumstances. Matrilocal residence during the first part of married life restrains many a young husband's temper and doubtless trains husbands to assume a more tolerant attitude than they would if outside the wife's village. For a wife who has been mistreated appeals to her relatives, and, if they agree with her, the matter is taken up by them with the husband. If he persists in mistreating her, her kinsmen will eject him from the village. Although matters are sometimes composed between the mates, such a forcible ejection usually is equivalent to divorce. On the other hand, a wife who is habitually lazy and recognized as such by the community may be beaten with impunity by her husband. Actually the women, generally speaking, exert a good deal of influence upon their husbands. A man usually consults with his wife about such matters as taking a trip, building a house, working for outsiders, acquiring trade goods. As has been described, when a man leaves his wife at home while he goes on a journey, he tells her on what day he will return, a date which is recorded by a knotted string which he gives to her. Each day he is gone she unties one of the knots, and if he is not home on the day the string is finally knotless, or at most a few days thereafter, his absence is said to be grounds for divorce. A woman in this case returns to her father's house and becomes available for another marriage. Consequently, men are meticulous about keeping their engagements at home.

Aside from the two grounds of divorce already mentioned there is parting of company by mutual consent. Although no rule is in force, in the cases which I investigated the male children stayed with their father, and the female children with the mother. A plant called wamba may be used as a charm to prevent desertion. It is rubbed on any article belonging to the other mate. When

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

going to Towakaima to carry supplies for me back to Sawari. 583
On the way to Towakaima he passed through Kurewa, made things up with his woman there, and during the rest of my stay in Sawari did not reappear. Caroline and her girls continued to live in the half-roofed house, doing their share of the field work, but depending for meat upon the efforts of Miller and Samuel.

Caroline and Elizabeth (the wife of Samuel) are not only sisters, 572
but also great chums. Elizabeth is probably five years younger 593
than Caroline, but both are buxom, lovers of a joke, and slightly lazy. They spend much of their time together, and their shrieking laughter can be heard almost any time of the day, if they are in the settlement, and late into the night. They are perfect foils for each other, Caroline loud and boisterous, Elizabeth quieter and cleverer. Few people I know consistently have as much fun together as Caroline and Elizabeth. Samuel, Elizabeth's husband, is her junior by perhaps ten years. He is shorter and considerably less bulky than she. Also he is quieter. But from all the signs, they are perfectly devoted to each other. Elizabeth has been living with Samuel more than a year. With them live her two little girls, Katrina and Mary , aged about five and seven respectively, children of her first (deceased) husband.

Samuel's brother Columbus has his own house on the other side 592
of Miller's establishment. He lives with Susan, a young girl not yet come to puberty. Susan receives help from the women of Miller's household in cooking and field work, in return for which Columbus assists Miller in field cutting, korial building, and shares his game with Miller's household.

Separated by a hedge of cotton bushes from the afore-men- 554
tioned households, stand the houses of David, his son Joseph; his 791
son-in-law Joseph, and his wife's sister Margaret, on the north side of the clearing. David is an old man possibly of sixty years who enjoys the double distinction of being the father-in-law of Miller and the piaiyen (or priest) of the village. He is also distinguished in the possession of a withered right arm, perhaps the result of early paralysis. (He says that he cannot remember a time when this arm was as large as the left one.) He has never been renowned for his physical strength or hunting ability, but is the village repository for such myths and legends as are extant in the group. For his learning and religious powers he is much respected.

NOTES

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[43] [1]Although the market opportunities have been limited in the Upper Barama River area, they are not much improved at either the Cuyuni River or Matthew's Ridge where segments of the population have gone. Matthew's Ridge, a mining settlement with single men from the coast, is viewed as a particularly predatory environment by the Carib men, especially those with more than one wife. Men are wary to take their [593] wives along and equally wary to leave them unattended anywhere else. [361] As external resources have gathered this dispersed population a substantial number has elected to remain in the Upper Barama River area and organize around the sources of opportunity there.

[435] [2]A rifle costs about $150 and a license must be obtained.
[56]

[3]Guyana became an independent nation in 1966.

[4]Amerindian Captains' salaries are based on population size. The Upper Barama River Carib Captain receives the highest salary which is for a population of over 500.

[465] [5]In addition, food was distributed to settle a request of a year's standing that payment be made to fifteen men who had helped clear the sites for the government buildings at the Air Strip. Other government subventions reached this Carib population. At [747] Christmas and other times, care packages from the Canadian Red Cross were sent into Baramita Air Strip by the Amerindian Welfare Officer and contained clothes, school items, toys, and powdered milk.

[435] [6]This figure included 6¢ a pound for bananas and plantains and 3 1/2¢ a pound for apple bananas.

175 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used
342 for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the
hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a
584 field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the
[582] bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized
an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).
175 At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During
591 this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other
[606] male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary
nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his
father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but
[851] through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally
would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97).
The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved
476 men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house con-
571 structing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not
621 [462] necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation
lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to
have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated
as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organi-
[592] zation (Gillin 1936:136). The adult men moved their households about
freely to enter into associations with other men from households in
175 the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers,"
476 actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these
593 kinsmen tended to settle near each other.
605
[591]

175 kinsmen tended to settle near each other. At times such as during
476 the field days held for poisoning a creek for fish, all the men and
593 women in one location would cooperate (Gillin 1936:11-12). Gillin
605 reports that the extent of mutual cooperation among "parallel kins-
[621] men" made these stronger bonds than that between a man and his son-
in-law (1936:97), and aggregations of their households composed a
settlement such as Savari.

175 At the time Gillin visited Savari, it was composed of three clear-
592 ings or aggregations of cooperating households. The largest of these,
621 John Miller's clearing, included seven adult men (1936:117-125).
Miller, about forty, was prominent among them. He had had a previous
[595] marriage but currently had a new young wife and was acquiring her
younger sister as well. His father-in-law was an old man, David.
Two of Miller's widowed sisters had recently attracted into the group
two brothers, Henry and Samuel. Their other brother, Colombus, with
his child bride was also present. Two young men, Joseph, a son-in-
law of David, and Joseph, a son of David, completed the group of men.
175 All of these had apportioned plots in a field Colombus and Miller
476 had originally cut and David and his son Joseph had enlarged. The
621 temporary partnership in fields was dissolving as the newcomers to
Savari were establishing fields of their own (Gillin 1936:134).
Other mutual assistance such as hunting and canoe building was con-
ducted between various men in this clearing and those in the other
clearings on an individual basis according to the inclinations and
the sway of influence to which each man was subjected.

*177 592 464 1969 have had consequences in the interrelationships among Carib households. Cooperation within households developed as men were first employed by porknockers. A young boy would accompany his father on such employment and to some extent share the uncertainty of his father's employment. Usually the father collected and managed the wages earned by his young son. Also, young unmarried brothers would work together during these early opportunities. However, this is still a recruiting of work partners from the existing household unit.

*177 • 593 464 606 As job opportunities became more substantial, the composition of the household changed. The cooperation between father and son was maintained as was that between father and son-in-law. This partnership persisted beyond the son's or son-in-law's youth to his position as a married adult, himself a father of children. Employment opportunities held these trans-generational pairs together. The instrumental nature of friendship among brothers, real and classificatory, diminished as household members became allied by employment. The general emphasis on cooperating partners of the same age shifted to a trans-generational recruitment pattern. In contrast to extra-household, associational work relationships, the new work opportunities promoted father-son and father-son-in-law cooperative bonds. As males secured employment, they tended to disassociate from the pattern of sharing resources with a group of cognatic kinsmen. Thus, employment opportunities of any duration acted to stabilize partnerships within a household, and as a consequence, the presence of a son-in-law was no longer indicative of a transitional phase and a

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*177 476 464

*177 464 592

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

TABLE 12

RESIDENCE AND KINSHIP AND WORK RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MINERS, 1969

Residential Group	Estimated Ages of Men	Relationships	Years of Employment with Baird
(In Time)			
1.	55	father	over 15
	25	son	over 6
2.	75	father	previously ca. 10
	40	son	ca. 4
3.	65	man	never employed
	35	son-in-law	ca. 16
4.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 2
	25	son	ca. 6
5.	60	father	ca. 12
	30	son	ca. 10
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
6.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 10
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
7.	30	man	ca. 8
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
8.	35	man	ca. 12
	25	brother-in-law	ca. 6
(Big Creek)			
9.	45	man	ca. 16
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
10.	25	Baird's son	steadily employed
11.	50	father	previously ca. 1
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
	25	son-in-law	ca. 2
	20	son	previously ca. 1

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

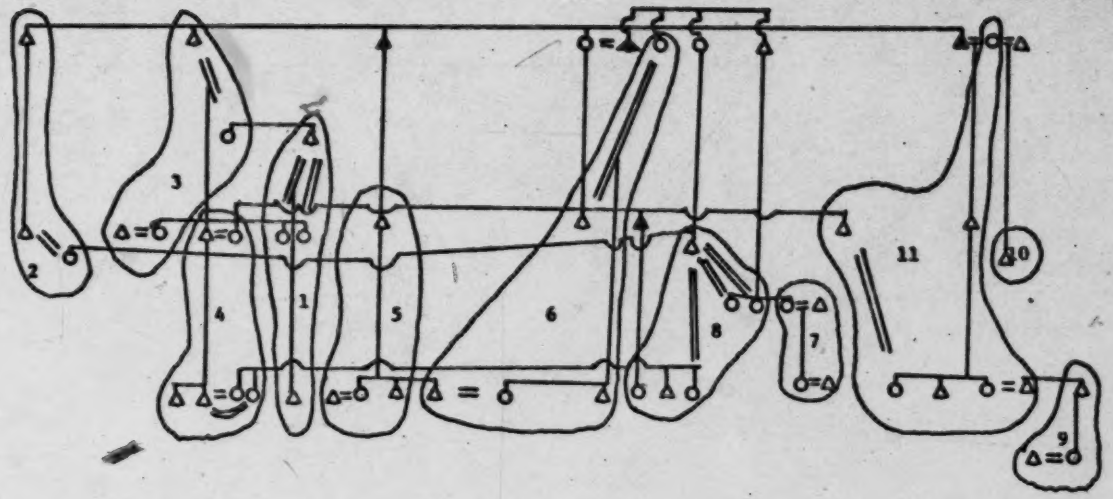

Figure 12. Kinship Relationships and Cooperative Boundaries among the Carib Men Residing near In Time and at Big Creek, 1969.*

*Only the most immediate kinship relationships are detailed, although wider affiliations add much more complexity. Accordingly, wives are only represented when they are links in the relationships among these men.

000 broker between them. At times, rivalry was evident when a worker had
*177 been suspended for two weeks, as was the standard practice for fail-
464 ure to turn out for a scheduled work period. The suspended man would
466 have his wife make a batch of cassiri, and he would hold a spree for
578 other miners who often suspected the plot but could not resist the
529 invitation. In turn, the guests would be too inebriated to work,
and the first miner would be immediately reinstated as constant
workers were needed to maintain the mining enterprise.

*177 From the pattern of social organization attending subsistence
464 farming in the rain forest, father and son and father and son-in-law
602 ties have been solidified by strategies to secure employment. In
593 this case, previous nuclear families with ties of assistance among a
606 wider kin group, effective organization for exploiting the bush, were
changed by the circumstances of the availability of employment. How-
ever, the record of impermanence regarding work opportunities and
other markets has contributed to a general lack of explicitness re-
garding work partnerships and residential practices among the Upper
Barama River Carib population during the last forty years. The
organization of the population with no access to steady mining employ-
ment also has been affected by the increased availability of regional
exchange opportunities. This is best detailed in the discussion of
the situation during 1970-71.

*177 Resettlement around Baramita Air Strip
361

The current residence situation among the Upper Barama River
Carib population has resulted from the pattern described by Gillin,

*177 159 323 she is a dependent widow and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law in his father's clearing. Her pots are particularly noted for being lopsided, making them easy to identify. She was the first to attempt to locate a suitable clay source at the Air Strip. She makes only tuluvas and has sold four at the Air Strip. Three were sold for the use of the mother of the man in whose clearing she resides and one for his sister.

*177 593 431 The only cases in which pots were presented as gifts between clearings involve exchanges between mother and adult daughter. These are actual mother and daughter pairs. Classificatory relatives are not included. These gifts were made in four cases during the period of observation and are an aspect of the sustained generalized reciprocity between mother and adult child in different clearings. Exchanges between mother and adult son usually involve food. However, these exchanges are not formalized in any way and they do not always occur between specific mother and child pairs.

*177 592 [621] In sum, the pattern of cooperation among adult individuals residing in the same settlement has been eroded by the introduction of wage work, other markets, and a money economy. The household composed of an adult man and his wife or wives and children remains the primary cooperative economic unit. However, the household has been extended in various instances to include the adult son or son-in-law and their families. The sustained flow of mutual assistance among a wider circle of kinsmen no longer exists as a common pattern.

[406]

*177 476 624 There is one exception to this pattern which has relevance only in its situational context. As the miners re-established bush farms,

175 cross cousins, brothers-in-law, and male cross cousins' sons. Again,
582 a particular male may fall into more than one of these relationships.
All strange males of approximately the same age are also included.

175 Thus, this kinship system is in keeping with the subsistence
605 organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs for the time period
602 before the introduction of external resources. Adult brothers as well
[476] as parallel cousins tended to render each other mutual assistance and
[593] thus live near each other. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage,
[582] these men tended to marry sisters or women who were parallel cousins
to each other. Thus, a child tended to grow up in the company of his
[768] parallel cousins, who were equated with his siblings. If his actual
[736] mother or father died or otherwise left, they would likely be replaced
by other individuals already in the child's horizon of interaction as
people in the categories of mother and father. Symmetrical cross-
[582] cousin marriage was extended to provide for the contingencies of re-
cruiting marriageable partners in a small population. With regard to
marriage with sister's daughter, this is not a separately designated
category. Rather this person is merged with a much larger category
of marriageable individuals.[8]

*177 The new organizational strategies are apparent in changes in the
601 kinship system. The discontinuation of mutual assistance among men
[476] who are brothers or parallel cousins and a greater longevity of
people have change elements of this system. In the first ascending
generation, father and father's brother and mother and mother's
sister are all separately designated. Previously, father and father's
brother were one identity. Mother and mother's sister were also
merged as one category.